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The LABOUR ORGANISER

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**What
Really
Wins
Elections?**

A Candidate makes a
detailed assessment

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(Continued on page 15)

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Calling All Speakers

The Tory Vote of Censure has served one useful purpose. It has crystallised the nature of the attack on the Government, and has provided valuable propaganda points for Labour Party platforms and publications.

The Government is charged with wasting time on Long Term Nationalisation proposals to the neglect of Short Term Policy covered by the Labour Shortage, Demobilisation, Housing and much else. On the other hand, the keenness of the Government to speed up Exports so that the Nation may have the purchasing power to secure raw materials, is denounced in favour of a demand to build up Home Consumption and the export of any surplus remaining from Home Consumption.

Immediately, there is nothing to fear from this Tory Propaganda, but if there is tardy industrial development with subsequent unemployment, the impression now being created may have serious repercussions, and that Propaganda must, accordingly, be met in the country. Labour's Platform must, therefore, be built up and door-to-door distribution of literature must be resumed for Labour's Programme means action by the whole Party whether in Parliament or in the constituencies.

It is to be hoped that Labour Members in the House of Commons will exercise great discretion in their attempts to speed up Legislation. The Government is not sleeping on its job, and indeed its measures will keep Parliament busier than it has been in all its previous history. Too much pressure to secure alleviation here or there for sections of the population should not be used unduly, as its main effect will

be to strengthen the Press propaganda of the Tory Party.

The Government will deal with Old Age Pensioners, improved Compensation for Accidents, India, Spain and Palestine. The Tories ought not to be provided with a propaganda pincer movement from the Labour Party side of the House.

For years, the main platform work of the Party has been carried on by Members of Parliament, or to speak more truthfully, that section of the Parliamentary Party which included the Party Leaders. Speakers of merit, but unknown publicly, have been willing to go anywhere to spread Labour's Programme, but have seldom been welcomed by Constituency Parties. The task involved in providing them with meetings has proved irksome. If this attitude is maintained, the people of Britain will know no more of Labour's activities in Parliament than the tabloid Press is prepared to print, and at the next Election there will be danger of Labour's work being lost to view.

The future platform work of our Party must be carried on much more by Party members themselves. The great speaking talent existing in our ranks must be encouraged to develop itself by Constituency Party effort. Members of Parliament who must support and maintain the Government, although busily engaged, will be invited to do their share, but unless the ranks of speakers are increased by non-Parliamentarians, the Party is likely to prove no match for the tremendous resources which will most certainly be developed by the Tory Party as we get nearer the next General Election.

What Really Wins Elections?

By TOM GITTINS, Candidate and Agent, Farnham, Surrey, 1945

We hope this article, containing, as it does, many challenging conclusions, will promote discussion on a vital topic. How many people, for instance, agree with Mr. Gittins' appraisal of the relative value of candidates? A further article by Mr. Gittins will appear in our next issue.

PART I.

An Election does more than register a decision by the electorate; it provides a wealth of data and experience which, if analysed, teaches useful lessons and provides valuable guides for future campaigns.

No election should be fought without an attempt being made to isolate and study the factors which contribute to the result; failure to do so may lead to wasted effort in the future.

I have, therefore, drawn up this report on the Labour Party's fight in the FARNHAM DIVISION OF SURREY, in the hope that it will provide not only a basis for discussion in the party but also serve as a guide for future action.

It is not unlikely that the conclusions reached and the recommendations made may have validity for similar constituencies.

ASSESSING A CONSTITUENCY

We are apt to generalise about constituencies as being "safe" or "doubtful," "difficult" or "hopeless," but these generalisations normally spring from the experiences of past elections rather than from an analysis of the constituency itself, and its electoral possibilities. In short, the electors over a series of elections behave in a certain way and the assumption is that they will continue to do so. This assumption, of course, is often correct, but it is safer and wiser to base election estimates on a more detailed examination of the known factors involved.

These factors are, it seems to me:—

- I. The type of constituency.
- II. The political situation.
- III. The Party Organisation.
- IV. The Candidate.

I. THE TYPE OF CONSTITUENCY

This represents, in my opinion, the most important factor and the one least amenable to attempts at modification. Broadly speaking the type of constituency is conditioned by the economic and social background of the electors.

A comparison of the rural Surrey areas with, say, Lancashire or South Wales, illustrates the important *initial* differences between constituencies from the point of view of elections.

Changes in the type or character of constituencies normally take place very slowly, as these changes are due chiefly to movements in the location of industry.

Thus, a small but definite modification has taken place in the FARNHAM CONSTITUENCY due to the introduction of a certain amount of war industry within the past seven years. The division has tended, therefore, to lose a little of its almost exclusive rural and residential character.

II. THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The factor next in importance preceding an election is the general political situation.

There is much loose talk of the political pendulum or swing, based on the tendency of the electorate to feel that the "other party should have a go." The basis for the "political pendulum" theory lies in the fact that the longer any Government remains in power, the greater becomes the opportunity of the Opposition to make capital out of the Government's deficiencies and the larger becomes the number of its critics. Moreover the natural human tendency to lay private shortcomings upon authority gives rise to a feeling of discontent with, or actual hostility to, the Government in power.

This natural psychological urge for change, however, on the part of the electorate is often grossly exaggerated and not much importance should be attached

to it from the electoral point of view. The political struggle must be seen not from the angle of a pendulum swing between two parties, the "ins" and "outs," but as the forward march of the Working Classes to complete economic and political power, a march which has its temporary halts and delays, but which is urged on irresistibly to its goal by the inexorable demands of historical necessity.

No amount of manoeuvring, no changes in tactics, no diversions, no propaganda, can prevail ultimately against the growing realisation by the people that not only the well-being and ordered development of society but its very existence depends upon the achievement of Socialism. It would be a great mistake, therefore, to assume that the political picture of the future is one of alternating Labour and Conservative Governments, analogous to the Conservative and Liberal Governments of the past.

The victory of the Labour Party in 1945 marked a decisive step forward in the struggle of the Working Classes for power; it registered the arrival at political adulthood of the British Electorate.

While it would be indefensible to underestimate the political skill and "pull" of our opponents, it is clear that the Conservative Party can achieve political power in Britain again only on the basis of the Labour Government's betrayal of its clear mandate from the people.

III. PARTY ORGANISATION

The factor, party organisation, while third in importance, is the one which allows real scope to the Labour Party supporter. It may not be possible to modify the deep-seated character of a division or to control the general political situation, but it is vital to realise what *is* possible (and very much *is* possible) in the field of Party Organisation.

A Party which fights an election without an adequate party machine courts defeat. An electoral organisation which is not based upon a stream-lined party machine cannot function satisfactorily.

In between elections, the party machine develops political, social, cultural and propaganda activities; during the elections it provides the key personnel for the electoral organisation.

Every village must have its Ward or Party; every part of the constituency must have its appropriate party organisation.

It is around the party organisation and activities that political consciousness is developed and through them that the democratic will and attitudes of the electorate are expressed.

IV. THE CANDIDATE

The Candidate before and during the election is the least important of the four factors and the estimate of his impact on the electorate is often exaggerated.

Thus unless he is fortunate to have a very compact constituency or one small in numbers, he will not normally meet or speak to more than 20 per cent. of the electorate during an election campaign.

His speeches, of course, are reported and so he reaches a wider public than his audiences, but on the average the scope of his influence is strictly limited.

His audiences may be divided into three categories—(1) The converted, (2) The convertible, and (3) The inconvertible; and it is safe to guess that the second category is in a heavy minority.

The shrewd candidate will not be too elated by the enthusiasm of his supporters nor too depressed by the disparagement of his opponents although he will do nothing to dampen the one or to encourage the other.

He will sustain, encourage and rally his supporters by his personal example and confidence.

He will put forward, as clearly and cogently as he can, the policy of his party, so that an adult-minded electorate may grasp the issues. He will eschew personalities and avoid vituperation which serves only to enlist sympathy for those who are attacked. He will combine a sense of humour with the realisation that he is a standard-bearer in a cause for which he must fight with all the vigour and force of which he is capable. He will not be lavish in promises unless he can see in the policy of his party the reasonable prospect of their early fulfilment. And, mindful of the fact that he is only first among equals, he will always credit his audiences and contacts with a reasonable share of intelligence.

He will realise that he is only part of the electoral organisation, and not a very important part at that, and that in the matter of planning and detail he must give his fullest co-operation to his Agent, and the completest loyalty to the party.

While a candidate is a relatively unimportant factor before and during an election, he achieves full political stature afterwards, if he is elected, for upon him the political hopes of the electorate depend. They put all their political eggs, so to speak, into his personal basket.

RELATIVE VALUES

It has already been said that the four factors involved in an election analysis vary greatly in importance, but if much wearisome explanation is to be avoided, some more precise evaluation is called for.

It may seem quite absurd to assign an arithmetical value to what, after all, is a vague estimate of general conditions, trends and forces, but if it is remembered that the numbers serve rather to establish a relation than to state an absolute value, and that they must be viewed with the utmost caution and reserve, they may be of real value in the assessment of electoral chances.

The following is the relative importance which I attach to each factor working on a basis of 100 per cent.

I. Type of Constituency	...	...	45%
II. The Political Situation	...	...	30%
III. The Party Organisation	...	...	20%
IV. The Candidate	...	...	5%

While, for the purpose of clarity, it is essential to isolate these factors, it is obvious that they react powerfully upon each other. For example, a favourable political situation will stimulate the party organisation which in turn reacts upon the political situation.

PRE-ELECTION FORECAST

Working on the foregoing basis, I made an assessment before the election of Labour's chances in the FARNHAM DIVISION, although I may add that I took the precaution of keeping the assessment to myself so as not to discourage supporters.

There are 75,122 electors in the FARNHAM CONSTITUENCY and I estimated that due to the character of the area, the state of the Register, the large gaps in the Labour Party Organisation plus the muddle affecting the Service voters, not more than 65 per cent. or 49,000 voters would go to the polls.

On the basis of the four factors, I made the following calculation:—

Factor	Labour	Conservative	Total
I. Type of Constituency	10%	35%	45%
II. The political situation	20%	10%	30%
III. The Party Organisation	10%	10%	20%
IV. The Candidate	3%	2%	5%
	43%	57%	100%

In votes cast 21,000 28,000 49,000

Actually 68.5 per cent. voted (as compared with 76 per cent. over the whole country) and the voting was as follows:—

Labour	Conservative
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39% or 20,013 votes.	61% or 31,557 votes
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It will be noted that my estimate was not far out and, as was perhaps natural, erred on the Labour side!

I overlooked the quite important point that the very vigour of the Labour Party campaign in the constituency stimulated our opponents to a maximum effort.

My personal impression is that 31,557 votes represents the high water mark of Conservative electoral strength in the FARNHAM DIVISION.



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How one M.P. keeps in contact

Look After Your People!

By JOSEPH BINNS, M.P. for Gillingham

It is our job not only to carry out our work at Westminster faithfully and well, but to do our utmost to make certain the continuity of Labour representation in our constituencies. Here it would be well to remind ourselves that our main duty does lie in the House.

We have to ensure an overwhelming majority for Government business, and all outside activities should be confined to Friday evenings, Saturdays and Sundays during the time the House is in session. The Members are very hard worked both in their hours of attendance and in dealing with the vast quantities of correspondence, which I can reliably assess as being six times as great as hitherto.

The rate of legislation is more than three times the normal put through. Even so, we must do our job in the constituencies, and here the kindness and understanding of our local parties can help very much indeed.

Attends Council Group

I am lucky in my local Party and my colleagues who are on the local Council—which for the first time is ours. The Chairman of the Party is the Leader, and the Secretary the Deputy-Leader. Also, I am fortunate and honoured in the confidence and trust of the Labour Group on the Council who invite me to take part in the Group Meetings.

It is not everywhere that this can be done, but it is an invaluable link between Westminster and the Town Hall. The Member can help the Council very much indeed. He can aid them to secure land for housing, to speed the sanctions through the Ministries, to suggest the timings of approach, and by physical presence be a reminder of the need for unity and contact with the wider sphere.

In exchange they are to him the informed and responsible leaders of his constituency, ready to help him and support him but also to guide him in the intricate internal affairs of the place.

I would recommend such an arrangement wherever it can be made, for it is a two-way traffic of ideas and sugges-

tions, and when, as in our case, the Party and the Council are one the Member would be very wise to consult his local party on all questions of personalities and organisations when he is in doubt. They should work as a unit.

One of the best ways to consolidate our gains is by looking after our local people in their troubles, irrespective of party affiliation. All organisations in my borough know full well that if a Conservative is in trouble I shall willingly and honestly try to help him as well as I would one of our own Party members.

There is no greater satisfaction to any Member than to know that through his efforts some injustice has been remedied or some poor soul brought relief. These people have never been looked after properly in this way before. It means a lot of hard personal slogging, but we all do our best.

Personal Consultations

I have a personal consultation service once a month in my constituency. Some Members in favoured constituencies do this once a week. The meetings are advertised in the local paper for a Friday evening. Jack Hasberry, the Party Secretary, is present (would he could be full time at his job!) and I give him the local housing troubles. We start at 6.30 p.m. and go on for over three hours, to take away masses of detail to be written up and argued with the Departments.

It is the hard way to do the job and puts back one's correspondence, but it is the only way in which many of our people can put their case over. I can quote an extreme instance in which after five years of struggle one poor girl now gets a pension of £1 17s. od. per week and back pay as well, which makes all the trouble worth the while to me.

Some day a proper social organisation will be created which will take much of this load from the Member, but until then it is our job to do.

Monthly Meeting

Just once a month we have a public

meeting. Here I report progress as frankly and honestly as I can. It is as well to tell the people how Parliament works, for the more they understand its peculiarities and its humours (for there is a humorous side to the life we lead) the better able they are to judge what we do. These meetings are very well attended and very friendly. Wherever possible one should also go to local functions, but this is very difficult, for our primary duty on working days must be in the House.

Not many people know that press services are available which upon payment will secure publicity for the Member in local papers. Apart from the question of cost, which we can ill

afford, some of us cannot square with our consciences payment for publicity. We are not "publicity hounds"; we do conduct ourselves in the House as if it exists to get our names in the papers. Our job is to bring about the policy we put before the electors, not to seek for personal fame. Some, the lucky ones, have the opportunity of supplying a column to the local paper, and where this can be done it is very worthwhile, but most of the "locals" have yet to toe the line. If I got the chance I would gladly take it.

My main theme then is not to forget the constituency. The Member who looks after his people will survive many storms.

Retirals of Councillors

By HAROLD CROFT

Questions are being asked about the second order of retirals of Councillors in Boroughs and Districts under the provisions of Sections 4 and 5 of the Representation of the People Act, 1945.

Subject to the reservation which a layman must make in interpreting statutes, but after consultation with an authority, I set out in as non-legalistic way as I can the following general observations as to the practical interpretation of the Sections.

In the forthcoming district elections where one-third of the Councillors are due to retire, those Councillors who were elected in 1937 will retire, including, of course, any Councillors who were elected, or co-opted, in their places. In addition all other co-opted Councillors will retire.

After the first ordinary elections (Borough November 1, 1945) (District, Spring, 1946), the question as to the "third of the Councillors" who will be due to retire at the next ordinary elections, will arise, but no final computation can be made until all casual elections that may occur during the year have taken place, because all persons who are elected to fill casual vacancies during the year will be treated as having entered into office on the appropriate—(November 1, 1945, Boroughs) (April 15, 1946, Districts). (Section 5 (3) (c)).

A Council will, therefore, be regarded (for the purposes of interpreting Sections 4 and 5) as made up of the residual long-period Councillors who were

originally elected in pre-war years and the new Councillors who are all to be treated as holding office from the appropriate date (November 1 or April 15).

For the computation as to the "third" to come out for the next ordinary elections, the first consideration will be in respect to the pre-war Councillors. If there are enough of these to compose the "third" then the matter is disposed of. If there are not enough of these residual Councillors, then the records of votes of the other Councillors will be the determining fact, and in order of lowest votes a sufficient number to make up the "third" will have to retire. Where the same number of votes are in issue as between two Councillors, and one of whom must retire, the Council shall determine by lot which person shall retire.

These general observations are applicable to an area without wards, or to the cases of ward retirals.

In the results of the determination for wards there will be found various individual anomalies that cannot be helped or remedied. They are the fate of circumstances for the individual. Whatever system had been put into operation for this adjustment period, there would be individual disappointments, but these have to be accepted just as in the case of the incorporation of a borough, after a first election for the whole Council the first retirals, the year following, result in some Councillors having to come out before other Councillors on the arbitrary fate of lowest votes.

Background To Bournemouth

By Wing-Commander EDWARD SHACKLETON, O.B.E.

"In the opinion of many of my friends, anything less than a 25,000 majority will be in the nature of a psychological defeat."—The Conservative Candidate.

To fill in some of the background for the Bournemouth By-Election it may assist to set out figures at this and previous elections.

	1935	1940	1945 General Election	1945 By-Election
Conservative	32,465	Unopposed	34,544	22,980
Labour	13,279	—	13,522	16,526
Majority over Labour	19,166	—	21,022	6,454
Liberal Vote			14,232	9,548
			(Conservative Majority over Liberal, 20,312)	Drop in total poll 13,244 " " Con. " 11,564 " " Lib. " 4,684 Increase in Labour poll 3,004

Examination of the above figures will show that the big swing of the country to Labour at the time of the General Election left Bournemouth virtually untouched. In fact Labour's position proved to be slightly worse than in 1935.

Among a number of other reasons, the myth of a Liberal revival had its influence in drawing off a certain number of votes which might otherwise have gone to Labour. For Bournemouth is on the fringe of the West Country Liberal tradition; and as will be seen Labour came in third slightly behind the Liberals. Our purpose at the by-election, therefore, was clearly to reverse the position which existed after the General Election and come in a good second, if it were not possible to win the seat altogether. In the event, both the Conservatives and the Liberals lost heavily, while the Labour vote increased by 3,004. The only Tory majority of over 20,000 at the time of the General Election tumbled by nearly 14,000 votes and the Conservative, Mr. Brendan Bracken, was returned on a minority vote with a majority over Labour no larger than that at many other places which it is hoped to win in the future. This confirmed what Mr. Attlee said in his letter to the candidate, "that to-day there are no backward areas for the Labour Party."

The Conservatives picked their time well. In accordance with the usual custom the choice of date for moving the writ was left to them, the present holders of the seat, and they picked a date a few days before the polling for the Municipal Elections on November 1st, so that although the by-election campaign was not as a whole confused with the Municipal Elections, we nevertheless lost the best part of the week of active campaigning.

For Agent, Transport House persuaded Ernest Robinson to offer his services, a man old in years and experience, but young in energy and ideas as some of the slower brethren discovered to their cost. And energy was needed, for the real problem in Bournemouth was the smallness of the Party and the lack of organisation in the Wards. In fact, only six of the fourteen Wards which make up the Parliamentary Borough had Parties, and the danger of apathy and indifference to which the Conservatives so frequently referred was a danger not only amongst Conservatives but amongst potential Labour supporters in the allegedly safest Tory seat in England.

Yet Bournemouth was clearly winnable as even a brief drive round the town showed. It is a place in which, despite the retired Colonels, the great majority of people work for their living. There is no doubt that as Ernest Robinson said early on in the campaign that with a 100 per cent. canvass our opponents "would not have seen us for dust."

In the circumstances that existed in Bournemouth it was unfortunately necessary to concentrate most of our energy on improvising machinery so that at least

the essentials of election organisation were brought into existence before polling day.

One important difference from the General Election was that we managed to obtain a shop in Old Christchurch Road, one of the main shopping thoroughfares in the centre of Bournemouth, as central Committee Rooms. This was a great improvement over the Committee Rooms used at the time of the General Election.

We also had the help of the neighbouring constituency Parties of East Dorset and New Forest and Christchurch, and above all of a small band in Bournemouth of those Labour stalwarts who were prepared as they always are to work day in and day out at every job, interesting or otherwise, which came to hand. Without them we could never have achieved what we did. If we had been able to multiply their number two or three times and had had another week of campaigning the result would have been a close one.

With only a 2 per cent. canvass at the time of the General Election, the most valuable source of canvass information, apart from Municipal Election canvassing and such work as could be done during the short campaign, proved to be Promise Cards in the form of "Your canvasser need not call on me as I shall be voting Labour," while wide distribution was given to other special forms on which people could fill in the names and addresses of their friends who were known Labour supporters. The information thus derived in fact proved invaluable and supplied us with a great deal of the data on which to base our polling day organisation.

Loud-speaker Technique

Considerable use was made of a loud-speaker van, not only for advertising meetings, but also for street corner meetings and for work in residential areas. Here the technique by which the candidate made a short speech and asked for questions while three or four workers, usually recruited from the Women's Section, knocked at the doors and invited anyone who had a question or wished to meet the candidate, to come out, contributed something to getting the candidate known, despite the shortage of time. However, care was taken to avoid excessive use of the loud-speaker, especially in the same areas, to avoid the irritant effect which it is liable to have.

We had hoped to produce an Election Newspaper, but shortage of funds made this impossible and this was perhaps fortunate since shortage of manpower and the weakness of organisation in the majority of the Wards would have made it difficult to get it properly distributed. The Liberals produced one Election Special, while the Tories went to the lengths of producing a daily four-page Bulletin from Nomination Day on, a very expensive undertaking. In any event the existence of a local daily newspaper made the need much less great, since it gave a fair show to all candidates and this helped to make up for the lack of direct propaganda.

On the meeting side, contrary to expectation in a year in which the General and Municipal Elections had already been held, good attendances were recorded at practically every Labour meeting, and in some cases the halls were more crowded and the people more enthusiastic, according to the reports, than in the General Election.

On the policy side, the Tories as usual refrained from producing any policy worthy of the name, and both the Tories and the Liberals, who naturally saw in Labour their chief rival, concentrated on attacking the Labour Government and all its works, while all the old nonsense on controls and freedom was dug out.

For our part we concentrated on straight policy, emphasising, in passing, the fact that they were doing so, while our opponents were doing nothing but attacking the Government. We were also careful not to make any suggestion that the Labour Government were in any way on the defensive, but stressed that it was the best Government that this country had ever had. Apart from the long-term arguments for Socialism, we took the line that Bournemouth was no less vulnerable than any other place to the impact of fluctuations inherent in the Capitalist System, and that full productive employment must be our aim, as the essential foundation for the abolition of poverty. In the light of the controversy over the date on which old age pensions should be increased, we made the point that the Labour Party were determined on sound economic planning which was why the Bank of England Bill must come first. This temperate and reasoned line of argument undoubtedly had some effect, if only by contrast with our opponents especially since the underlying idealism of Socialism and the Labour Movement was strongly stressed.

(Continued on page 15)

Keep the Party Clean !

Facing Up To C.P. Infiltration

By JOHN NISBET

We in Hornsey Labour Party are proud of the way we have fought two of Labour's enemies—the Tories and the Communists. The Tories fought clean. The Communists did not. But we are besting both of them.

This story of Communist "Trojan Horse" tactics is not a new one, nor a pleasant one. But our experiences are set down solely as a warning to other Parties—and as a guide to future action. Let others take heed.

Hornsey is a North London borough with a growing working-class and lower middle-class population. It is probable that Right and Left voters are now pretty equally divided. But for years the local Labour Party failed to make any headway either at the local elections or in the Parliamentary sphere. Until last month's elections we had only one Labour Councillor—Harry Hynd, now M.P. for Central Hackney—at the Town Hall.

C.P. Undercover Men

The main reason for our failure was not far to seek—it was the old story of Communist infiltration. Whenever the Party looked like settling down and getting some work done, the undercover men of the C.P. would raise some agitation which would cause a split in our ranks.

If the "United Front" fever was raging, we caught it. If it was the "People's Convention" or the hundred and one other causes of Communist stoogery, we were duly infected. Our "comrades" within the gates saw that nothing passed us by. We were the suckers for all the circulars from King Street, and all the edicts from the Pollitts, the Dutts and the Pritts. The result was that precious little of any value was ever achieved.

Came the General Election. A year before this notable event our local Communists began building up one of their demagogues as "the working-class candidate" for Hornsey.

Phoney Resolutions

Within the Party itself the "infiltrators" were busy. The usual stooge

resolutions calling for "Unity of the Left and one Parliamentary candidate" were duly tabled and discussed. The usual phoney messages of support for this policy turned up from the "local trade union movement." The stage was all set for the cooking of Labour's goose.

Till the showdown came. Exasperated by the whole C.P. network of intrigue, and despite the wrigglings of the undercover men in our midst, our Party eventually made it quite clear that we were determined to run a Labour candidate come what may. And we stuck to that decision.

Mass Resignations

Then our fellow-travellers within the Party struck. They staged the usual theatrical mass resignation on the eve of the poll and intimated in the local Press that they were supporting the Communist candidate. It was in this atmosphere of charge and counter-charge, with a bewildered public looking on, that the General Election took place.

The result was that the Tory polled 24,000, Labour 12,000, and Communist 10,000. Yes, you can guess what we said.

The Moral

But, nevertheless, we got cracking immediately on our plans for the local elections. And with the Party swept clean of the Quislings we made real, honest-to-good progress. We completely ignored the C.P. and agreed to fight every seat. A new fighting spirit pervaded the whole Party.

Our reward came at last month's elections. Labour won ten of the 26 seats being contested. The Communists, who had one or more candidates in every ward but one, won none. And the Communist candidate who polled 10,000 votes at the General Election was soundly defeated in the ward where he thought he was strongest.

What's the moral? It is this. *Keep the Party Clean.* With traitors within our gates, nothing can be achieved. Without them, Labour can win any seat in the Kingdom. You have been warned.

COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

Labour Gains In Scotland

By JOHN TAYLOR (Scottish Organiser)

Polling for the Scottish County Council Elections—the first for nine years—took place on December 4th and produced Labour majorities in Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, Midlothian and West Lothian, with a 50-50 position in Stirlingshire, and Labour gains in many other Counties.

Fife would also have produced a Labour majority but for Communist interventions which were, as usual, on the side of the Landlords.

Prior to the elections, there were no Labour-controlled Counties in Scotland.

Because of the structure of the County Councils these are the most difficult type of elections we have to contest. The membership of Scottish Counties is in three sections. "Landward" members who are directly elected for electoral divisions in the rural areas, representatives of the small Burghs who are appointed by the Burgh Councils from their own members, and representatives of the large Burghs who act on the County Council for Education purposes only. Thus we have "Landward" members, "Burgal" members and "Education" members.

Difficult Campaign

The elections just concluded were for the "Landward" members only and were consequently in the rural communities, with all the disadvantages of campaigning in localised countryside districts and with issues frequently confused by parochial considerations, personalities and the powerful "pull" of the Lairds, the Kirk or the farmers.

Therefore, although the swing to Labour was not so pronounced as in the Burgh elections a month previously, when we captured 33 Burghs, they are nevertheless good in the circumstances and an encouragement to the Parties in the County Divisions with a very clear indication that Labour's greatest opponent in the Counties is not the Tories, but the inherent individualism of the Scot which induces him to produce large numbers of splinter and "Independent" candidatures. These robbed us of at least one additional election and prevented a substantial number of

Labour Gains. Also they caused every one of the few Labour losses.

What's in a Name?

None of the anti-Labour Candidates stood as Conservatives or Liberals. It is interesting to note their choice of names. In Districts where Labour is strong they christen themselves "Progressive," in Districts where Labour is not quite so strong they are "Moderates," and in the Highlands, where Labour is weak, they are "Independent" or "Non-political" candidates.

But, whatever the district nomenclature, the Tory machine worked on their behalf and worked much better than it did in the General Election. If they have any nerves they strained them all in an endeavour to defeat Labour as the first attempted step towards a revival of their drooping fortunes, and used every possible weapon including the rousing of religious prejudice in some areas.

Election Publications

In the General and Municipal Elections the printed matter from Head Office was available for Scottish Candidates but in the December Elections we were on our own, except for an excellent leaflet produced by the Publications Department. The Scottish Office of the Party produced a Model Election Address which was widely used; speakers' notes and other services which we have good reason to know were highly appreciated.

We smoothed out many difficulties at the nomination and selection stage and only failed in one instance to bring clashing local personalities into line with wider Party interests. This was no mean achievement, for it was nine years since the last County and District Council Elections, with time for prejudices to develop, and we were dealing in the main with village communities in which schisms based on personalities are not easy to heal.

Paper and petrol allocation proved ample and should be a guide for the English Elections in the Spring. The petrol allocation was 60 units per candidate of a Division of 20 square miles or less, with an additional unit for each 2 square miles over 20 with a maximum of 100 units.

(Continued on page 15)

The Big Battle For The L.C.C.

By HINLEY ATKINSON

Year	LABOUR		MUNICIPAL REFORM		TOTAL ANTI-LABOUR		% Poll
	Vote	Seats	Vote	Seats	Votes	Seats	
1931	214,256	35	283,983	83	326,298	89	27.8
1934	341,390	69	298,464	55	329,180	—	33.5
1937	446,116	75	402,723	49	422,329	—	43.4
1946	???	???	???	???	???	???	???

London County Council electoral boundaries are coterminous with those of its sixty-one Parliamentary constituencies. But two L.C.C. representatives are elected for each one-Member Parliamentary constituency, and four from the City of London which is a double Parliamentary seat.

This election of 124 County Councillors from a compact block of 61 Parliamentary constituencies provides an electoral campaign which is similar in scope and size to that of a Parliamentary General Election. Interest in the campaign is heightened because across the Thames from the Houses of Parliament stands modern County Hall, which, since Labour control of it, has become the symbol and workshop of London's civic achievements.

London Labour fought its way to power at County Hall for the first time in March, 1934. It did so by securing the biggest vote ever recorded to that date for a single Party in an L.C.C. Election. This was no "pendulum" victory, for the Municipal "Reformers" substantially exceeded their previous highest vote. The table of electoral results which introduces this article disposes of any misapprehensions that Labour scored an easy, undeserved, or a planless victory. The L.C.C. battle of March, 1934, was London Labour's counter-offensive after its Parliamentary Election defeat of 1931. For this fight it planned and organised as never before.

In 1937, after its first term of office, Labour faced the electorate with a great record of achievement but with a slender majority of votes and seats. It was well aware of the determination and preparation made by the Opposition to prevent its return to power. Only the politically unsophisticated can believe that political power, even in Local Government, can be retained by Labour, however great its political

achievements, without a continuous and intensive consolidation of its fighting resources.

London Labour took no chances. From the day of its triumph in 1934, it proceeded to focus on the target of 1937. The records prove its industry. Increased membership, more efficient organisation, more up-to-date publicity and electoral technique became the programme of every constituency and of the London Labour Party. The active election campaign was planned months ahead and operated in ample time fully to complete it; better in fact than ever before.

The moral of this timely and thorough preparation for 1937 is perhaps of more consequence to the Party than the sensational victory which rewarded it and swept Labour back to County Hall with a greatly increased majority. The moral is to be read from the figures given in the table introducing this article. Despite Labour's undoubtedly popular success in office the Municipal "Reformers," alias Tories, increased their 1934 vote by 25 per cent. to a figure far exceeding that which had carried Labour to power. *Without Labour's intensive development of its fighting resources, it could not have increased its vote sufficiently to offset that of the Municipal Reformers and thereby retain its majority.*

Yes, this classic example of the uncertainty of retaining political power is worthy of note by every constituency Party which must defend its majority at the next Parliamentary Election. *But there is an earlier occasion to apply the moral:* in London, we shall fight the L.C.C. election campaign with every possible preparation. The electoral sweep which has brought us unprecedented victories in the Parliamentary and Borough Elections must not be an excuse for

(Continued on page 15)

All Out for the West Riding!

By A. L. WILLIAMS

The West Riding County Council is one of the biggest local government bodies in the world. It administers vital services for over 1½ million people and before the war, with a rateable value of over £7,000,000, its yearly expenditure was more than £9,000,000.

Within the 1,625,058 acres of the administrative county are the coalfields of the South, the wool textile industry of the West and the vast agricultural areas of the North.

Largest Party

The Labour Party has never had a majority of the Council seats, but since 1931 it has been the largest single party. Because the anti-Labour forces are split among Tory, Liberal and Independent groups, and because the Labour members are more regular in their attendances, Labour has been successful in enforcing its own policy in several spheres, especially those of Public Health, Social Welfare and Education.

In the last elections, held in 1937, a net gain of five seats would have given Labour a complete majority, but only two seats were won and two were lost. In the by-elections following the election of aldermen, a further two seats were lost.

In the past the coal mining areas were solidly Labour, the agricultural areas solidly Conservative, while the textile areas divided their allegiance between Liberals and Independents.

In the 1937 contest, Labour was given 29 unopposed returns and anti-Labour 28 unopposed returns. Not all the unopposed anti-Labour candidates were in hopeless constituencies from a Labour point of view, and the failure to fight in several instances was a sad reflection on our party organisation.

There are several Parliamentary divisions where a Labour M.P. was returned at the General Election in which we do not hold a single County Council seat and several others in which we hold one out of four or five.

Six Seats Needed

On March 2nd next the Labour Party will ask the electorate for power, and to achieve this a gain of six seats is all that is required.

The Regional Council is determined to find a candidate for practically every one of the ninety seats, and a panel of over 160 candidates has been circulated to Local Labour Parties.

Special attention is being given to the marginal constituencies where a slight turnover of votes would give us the seat, but even in areas where there has not been a contest for many years we intend to put up a stiff fight with excellent candidates.

A County Council Election Fund has been opened and contributions from individuals, trade unions and Labour organisations have brought it to nearly £500.

The financial responsibility for each candidate will be the concern of the Local Labour Party sponsoring him, and the Election Fund will be used for subsidising literature produced centrally and, perhaps, in one or two especially needy cases, for making a direct money grant.

Central Printing

The election addresses are to be printed centrally, with the middle portion containing the election programme on which all candidates will fight. The outside pages will be printed according to the candidate's own wishes. Block-making will be arranged centrally, also.

By this method costs should be less and better quality work produced than would be the case if candidates were left to the mercy of small town printers.

A four-page "Election Special" is to be published. This will be profusely illustrated and will have a modern make-up. It is hoped that 150,000 copies will be distributed.

Speakers' notes, handbills and posters are to be produced by the regional officer, which also will be responsible for supplying speakers for public meetings.

Background To Bournemouth—Continued from page 10

Another innovation at our meetings was the use of the Labour Male Voice Choir.

Much more could be said about the Bournemouth By-Election, but the main principles which seemed to stand out in fighting a "safe Tory seat" are these. First, the importance of a reasoned and deliberate statement of the case for Socialism of the Labour Party without too much time being wasted on the shortcomings of the Conservatives in the past, and, secondly, the vital need to build up a strong local Party. A strong Party and a full-time Agent is in fact obviously desirable in any constituency, but nowhere more than in a place like Bournemouth which can be won if there is proper organisation and enough manpower to do the work. Improvisation when an Election is imminent will never solve the problem. It is good to know that the Bournemouth Labour Party have already started a membership drive and with success in this direction, and with the establishment of properly constituted Parties in every Ward, there is no earthly reason why Bournemouth should not be won as so many other Tory strongholds have been won in the past.

Labour Gains in Scotland

(Continued from page 12)

Coincidentally with the County Council elections, the District Council contests polled on the same day. As I write, the results for these are not all to hand, but those now coming in record Labour gains in most areas.

A Year of Victory

Therefore, after six months of electioneering covering every elected Authority in Scotland, the Party emerges with its Parliamentary representation almost doubled; its burghal representation giving it control of practically all the major Authorities and many of the smaller ones; with four Counties under Labour control and with substantial Labour Groups on many others, and with widespread representation on District Councils whose duties and influence are likely to increase during the next few years.

On the face of it, we ought to be satisfied, but the fact is that we are not. We have done well, but we could have done so much better. We started the year with high hopes which have materialised, but instead of gratification with the ground won, we see the ground we have yet to win and are disgruntled because there is still so much of it at the end of this year of tremendous opportunity.

SITUATIONS VACANT

(Continued from page 2)

THE HARTLEPOOLS DIVISIONAL LABOUR PARTY.—Applications are invited for the post of **FULL-TIME SECRETARY AND AGENT**. Salary and conditions according to the National Party Scale, plus War Bonus. Forms upon which application is to be made can be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Labour Rooms, Park Road, West Hartlepool, to whom they must be returned not later than 19th January, 1946.

The Big Battle for the L.C.C.

(Continued from page 13)

lethargy in our preparations, but an encouragement to work doubly hard for the greater victories which are possible in the County Council Elections.

It is of the utmost importance that we take time by the forelock. It is high time every candidate was selected and getting busy—now! Publicity should be in process of draft and print—now! Clerical work must be pushed forward with all speed—now! The canvass cards or books can be prepared—now! Open the Committee Rooms early and get the members to work—now! Early, continuous and energetic action is the key to victory.

Municipal Elections—Purchase Tax**Election Addresses are Exempt**

Excerpt from Treasury letter 17th May, 1945: "But election addresses and leaflets which are fully printed except for some provision for completion in manuscript which is merely incidental, e.g., the insertion of the recipient's name and address, are not regarded as taxable."

Poll Cards are Exempt

Excerpt from Treasury letter 21st June, 1945: "We have considered the four specimen polling cards which you enclosed in your letter, and I am writing to tell you that polling cards represented by these specimens are not regarded as subject to the charge of purchase tax."

Specimens were: (a) name and address of voter written in; (b) poll number to be written in; (c) poll number and place of voting to be written in. A poll card is a leaflet, not stationery.

Labour Party Publications List

PAMPHLETS:

"About The Labour Party," by Morgan Phillips. Post free: 1 copy, 3d.; 12 copies, 1s. 6d.; 100 copies, 12s.

"Ernest Bevin's Work In Wartime."

"Herbert Morrison's Work in the War Government."

Post free: 1 copy, 3d.; 12 copies, 1s. 9d.; 100 copies, 13s.; 500 copies, £3 2s. 6d.; 1,000 copies, £6.

"Plan for Peace," by Ellen Wilkinson, M.P.

"Wings for Peace."

"Party Organisation." Post free: 1s.

"Conduct of Parliamentary Election." Post free: 2s. 6d.

"Speakers' Handbook." Post free: 2s. 6d.

"Build Your Own Future." Post free: 1 copy 2d., 12 10d., 100 6/-.

"National Service for Health."

"The Nation's Food."

"Our Land."

"International Post-War Settlement."

"Full Employment and Financial Policy."

"Social Progress in New Zealand," by the Hon. Walter Nash.

"Let Us Face the Future." Post free: 1 copy 3d., 12 1/9, 100 13/-, 500 £3 2s. 6d., 1,000 £6.

"Coal and Power."

"Post-War Organisation of British Transport."

Post free: 1 copy 4d., 12 2/6, 50 8/-, 100 15/-.

"The Colonies." Post free: 1 copy 4d., 12 2/6, 50 10/-, 100 17/6.

"Rent Acts Guide." Post free: 1 copy 7½d., 6 3/-, 12 5/6.

"Leon Blum Before his Judges" Post free: 1 copy 1/4, 12 10/-, 50 £2, 100 £3 10s.

SUBSCRIPTION SERVICES.

Pamphlets and Leaflets—Annual Conference Report (as issued) 5/- per year, post free.

The Labour Press Service (issued fortnightly) 5/- per year, post free.

Notes for Speakers (issued weekly) 10/- per year, post free.

Labour Party Bulletin (issued monthly), 2/- per year, post free.

Labour Woman (issued monthly), 2/6 per year, post free.

Labour (issued monthly by the T.U.C.), 3/6 per year, post free.

COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION (above inclusive)—25/- per year, post free.
Address all orders to:

**THE LABOUR PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT
TRANSPORT HOUSE, SMITH SQUARE
LONDON, S.W.1**